SOME NEW BOOKS

Seeley's Growth of British Policy.

The late Sir J. R. SERLEY, formerly professor of modern history in the University of Cambeides, made himself well known to American readers, first by his "Ecce Homo," next by his "Life and Times of Stein," and more recently by the lectures on the foreign policy of Great Britain in the eighteenth century, which were published under the title of "The Expansion of England." The author had originally intended to make the last mentioned book the basis for a much more extensive work, a "History of British Foreign Policy" from the revolution of 1688 down to the present day. It soon became evident to him, however, that the post-revolutionary policy of England could not be adequately presented without an examination what went before. To place England in her proper setting among the States of Europe, and to display the effect of the revolution in her relations with the European powers, it was necessary to mark the contrast between the years that preceded and those that followed 1688. He therefore determined on giving an introductory view before entering on his main field of inquiry, and for a starting point he fixed on the accession of Elizabeth as the date when the main British foreign policy were definitely laid down. It was, he thought, the principles then adopted which, developed by Elizabeth herself, by Cromwell, and by William III., were eventually to lead up to the triumphsof the eighteenth century. The labor which this undertaking involved was too much for the author's powers, and when he died, last January the work had not received the final touche The two volumes, however, now published by the Macmillans under the title The Growth of British Policy, were in type and lacked only the revision which author had desired to give them. The editor Mr. G. W. Prothero, has not felt himself at liberty to add anything to the text, but has confined himself to correcting a few misstate ments or errors of date, and to the occasional emendation of a word or transposition of a sentence. Although the book, as it left the author's hands, broke off in the middle of a sentence, it covers the period from the accession of Elizabeth to the close of the reign of William III.

It will, of course, be kept in mind that these volumes constitute an essay in international history. The need of such an essay will be evident to those who have observed how English history always tends to shrink into Parliamentary history, and how apt are even great English historians to sink somewhat below themselves in the treatment of English foreign relations. The aim of Sir J. R. Seeley, on the other hand, was to leave to others the exposition of the constitutional development of Eng-land, and to show the position which his country occupied among other States during a critical epoch, the changes which this position underwent, and the causes, both within England herself, and in the relations of the Continental great powers, by which these changes were produced. The plan required him to treat England as only one State among many. and to give it only a certain precedence. It required him to turn his attention altogether away from England while he followed some important Continental development, destined after a time, to react upon England. In the digressions and limit ourselves mainly to noting what the author has to say about the three great persons who raised England to the position she held among the nations when the eighteenth century opened. We shall glance, however, at the final chapter, in which the author discusses the essentially commercial state which England became as the outcome of her foreign policy.

Queen Elizabeth died early on the morning of March 24, 1603, having reigned with unabated vigor for more than forty-four years. When we inquire how much had been accomplished for England, during the time, and by the means of her Government, we are astonished at the magnitude as well as at the thoroughness and perma nence of the work. How was the work accomplished, and what was the Queen's share in it? A large part of the first of these volumes is althe discussion of this question. The first point to mark is the difference between England as it was in 1558 and as it was in 1603 At the date of Elizabeth's accession the country seemed to sway in a helpless manner between Protestantism and Catholicism. In the las three reigns the oscillations had been violent and almost terrible. How could Eng land ever come to know her own mind, and, in the mean time, how could she, being neither Protestant nor Catholic, face the religious storm of the Counter-Reformation which was sweep over Europe? At the end of Elizabeth's reign, nevertheless, the religious question was practically settled. England had taken up her religious position, and with such deliberation and confidence that she has never since substantially altered it. This too, she had

done caimly, without any religious war. Again, at the date of Elizabeth's accession the country labored under another evil scarcely less grievous, and of older standing. The succession to the throne was uncertain. In the fifteenth century this internecine disease drenched the country with blood for thirty years, had darkened the national character an stained the national history. In the sixteenth century, when it broke out again, in the difficulty of fixing the succession to Henry VIII., in the wild rebellions that accompanied the accession of Mary, and then in the dangerous abeyance of the question in the reign of Elizabeth, the uncertainty of succession showed itself as a deep-seated, almost incura ble evil. In the daughter of Anne Boleyn it seemed visibly embodied. How was it pos sible that she, of all persons, should cure this chronic disease? Nevertheless, at the end of her reign it was cured. Her successor took his seat on the throne amid almost universal accia mation, and if in the seventeenth century and later, England again knew Pretenders, the dis case was now of a milder type, and threatened no second War of the Roses. As a result of these two great evils, the oscillation between two religious and the uncertainty of success to the throne, the English temperament in 1558 was troubled and gloomy. People had grown accustomed to the sight of Bishops at the stake and queens at the block. Later they had to accustom themselves to the dangers of foreign wars and Spanish Armadas. During Elizabeth's reign, however, this national melancholy went on healing itself. It gave place to a sanguine self-confidence, a robust and boisterous national pride that first led to a loving study of English history and antiquity, and then broke out in a national poetry which, in Shakespeare, overflows with jubilant patriotism. The Scotsman Drummond, a little later, opined that the English school of literature erred principally by its extravagantly national char acter, and Sully passed the same judgment upon English statesmanship.

By still another great evil was England threatened at Elizabeth's accession. Almost all countries of Europe were passing, one after an other, by royal marriage, into the Hapsburg conaection. It was desirable not only to escape this calamity, but also to reap the benefit which might accidentally flow from a matrimonial alliance in another quarter. On the one hand, England must not become a province of Spain; on the other hand, England and Scotland ought o be united. It seemed a most impossible for Elizabeth, however, either to avoid the evil or to secure the good. For Elizabeth was a woman, and must marry. If she married, it would b concer,h her dignity to accept any husband that was not either a Hapsburg or a Valois, and, in either case. England would run the risk of becoming a province of some Conti-nental monarchy. If, by remaining a virgin Queen, she should avert this result, there still remained a difficulty in the way of the union of England and Scotland. For the Scotch Queen was a Catholic and a Guise, and was almost certain to marry some leading Catholic prince. Thus, if England and Scotland were at last united, they would be united in the Counter-Reformation. At the end of her reign, nevertheless, England, as a matter of fact, remained free from all foreign entanglements. No Hapsburg or Hourbon prince had any dangerous

England and Scotland were prepared to unite themselves under one sceptre, and that sceptre

was in the hands of a Protestant. It was the work of Elizabeth to create such a monarchy of Britain. She laid the foun-dation of it in the treaty of Edinburgh. It has been since developed much further, of course but the solid foundation, which lies in the Reformation itself, remains where it was. By abstaining, moreover, from all foreign connections, and by strengthening the connection with Scotland, Elizabeth made the English State for the first time truly insular. She gave it that frontier which has hitherto proved impassable, She thus raised it to a position of self-sufficing security which few other States enjoy, so that, since her time, Englishmen have seldom felt their country to be really in danger. No doubt, vantages. Soon after Elizabeth's time, it was remarked that English people had be gun to be careless and ignorant of affairs, the interests and thoughts of the Continent. They had become too much wrapped up in themselves. But another innovation made in Elizabeth's reign did much to counterbalance this evil. As she drew her subjects from the Continent, she introduced them to the ocean and to the New World. Thus Englishmen by no means ceased to have interests outside their own island. Rather they became for the first time explorers, colonizers, And whereas the Spanlards, while possessing half the globe, had contrived to keep their minds intensely narrow, and to learn as little as possible from the new things they saw, Englishmen grasped the New World in a more inquisi ive and sympathetic way, acting as individual doneers and traders rather than as mere off cials. Thus it happened that in the first genera tion of their truly insular life Englishmen semed to have rather gained than lost in breadth of intelligence by the transition.

HI. Such were the vast results of Elizabeth's

eign. When now the author of this essay proceeds to inquire how they were attained, he does ot find, as some have found, that they wer accidental, or that they grew up by natural deelopment, so that no particular credit was due for them to the Government. Sir J. R. Seeley arrives at the conclusion that they were due in the main to Elizabeth's policy, and would have been lost if she had acted otherwise. When, however, he goes on to define what Elizabeth's policy was, we find that its characteristic feature was, so to speak, its passive, expectant, ime-serving quality. The author has undertaken to prove that this very passivity was calculated as well as felicitous. As a matter of course. Elizabeth's long reign offered many opportunities for strokes of statesmanship. abundant room for the execution of large and complicated plans. The peculiar feature of Elizabeth's rule, however, was that in dealing with foreign States she had no plans and can be credited with no strokes of statesmanship. The time which was allowed to her in such ample measure was, as it were, not the room in which, but the materialfor instrument with which, her results were achieved. "Time and I against the world," said Mazarin, but, among all great rulers, it is rather the distinction of Elizabeth to have shown how much may be accomplished by simply allowing full play to the influence of time. If one asks what she gave to England during her long reign, the answer is, the reign itself.
"Now. Mr. Speaker," said Elizabeth once, what has passed in the lower House?" Mr. Speaker answered, "May it please your Majesty. seven weeks." In like manner it may be said that what passed in Elizabeth's reign was chiefly forty-four years. Obviously, when time is thus spoken of, one includes in it the idea of rest. It was Elizabeth's business during her forty-four years of rule to give England rest. was her one absorbing problem, difficult enough in one of the wildest half centuries that have ever passed over Europe. She began by preserving peace for twenty-six years, the very years during which Alva raged in the Netherlands and the Guises in France. It is rue that this long peace was followed by eighteen years of war. Yet as the author of this essay proves, it may be asserted that, except in Ireland, this war of Elizabeth was to he people almost like a peace. For the enemy could not reach them. Within the country there were few signs of war. The pursuits of peace were not suspended. The pressure of taxation was reduced by her parsimony. Indeed, the naval warfare, far from checking the development of the nation, was the very ferment which promoted it. The maritime war with Spain was out a name for the exploration, discovery, and colonization with which England was feeling

How Elizabeth came to have such a large faith in time, or whether she actually had it, is discussed at some length in this book. It is probable enough that the extreme danger of her position, making all action unsafe, first threw her back upon delay. The author, however, manifestly thinks that we must credit her with the perception that, for such deep-scated diseases as then racked England, there was no remedy but time. From those sick religious doubts, those frenzies of religious discords, or. again, from those obstinate, clannish feuds that arise out of adisputed title, there was but one escape. The generation that was tormented by them had to die out and a new generation to spring up. In the mean time, what should be done? The one thing needed was rest. Fresh action on the old line, which would aggravate all the diseases, must be avoided. Civil war must not be allowed to break out, nor religious war. Hence the various devices of Elizabeth. "Are we Catholics? Are we Protestants?" queried the people in a fever of perplexity. Elizabeth gave them a new variety of the Reformation, which we now call Anglicanism, from the country itself. She founded what may be called a national Church. It was a solution that served the turn. "Who is our rightful sovereign?" asked the people. "You have me for the present," was the answer, "but I shall have no children; after me will come Mary, or it may be a Grey, This, too, was an answer which served the turn. As the years passed by, a new generation sprang up, whose minds were agitated by other thoughts. It was a more cheerful generation. Some of them "discovered islands far away;" some of them de vised systems of philosophy; some of them wrote sonnets; some of them wrote plays. In fine, all the modern life and activity of England can be traced to those forty-four years in which so many old thoughts were forgotten, and so many new thoughts were conceived. It is not business of the author of this essay to ask what was Elizabeth's character, although that too, is an interesting question. But if one inquires what her work was in relation to English history, his answer is that the greatness of it can scarcely be exaggerated. So that, if, ir her own language, she was married to the contemporary generation of Englishmen, it may be ddod that she is the mother of all the generations that have succeeded.

her way to greatness.

III.

In the second of these volumes the interns ional position assumed by England under Cromwell is compared with that which it had taken in the Elizabethan age. Viewed collectively, Elizabeth and Cromwell round off a complete century of policy; they also stand out in strong contrast to the feeble politicians that came between them. Both confronted foreign powers with a high courage; both gave England a high place among the powers of Europe. Nevertheless, in one capital point they are sharply contrasted. In Elizabeth, as we have seen, action was at a minimum. She faced the world bravely, but she did as little as possible. By good fortune she enjoyed a reign of forty-four years, in the course of which all old wounds were healed, a sense of rest and of contentment grew upon the minds of the people, and a deep and broad foundation was laid upon which immense things have since been built. Cromwell stands, in this respect, at the other extreme. He is pronounced by Seeley the most audacious and original statesman that England has ever had, but the praise is qualified by the comment that, as he began late and ended soon, too little time was allowed him for durable accommishment. By far the greater part of his work perished with him. Yet not on that account would our author say that his work was unsound. Neither is it consid-

results which flowed from his policy. The simple truth is that Cromwell laid out a daring plan which fate did not permit him to execute. What he left was a mere fragment which it is not equitable to estimate as if it were a complete work. Had five more years been granted to him, it is possible that his triumphs abroad might have relieved him from his domestic difficulties. In this case he might have founded a great Protestant and military monarchy, which would have been as powerful as the Spanish monarchy had been at the begin ning of the seventeenth century. Dunkirk would have formed a new starting point for a new Protestant league. There would have been new military enterprises which would have afforded occupation for the Puritan armies, and new triumphs which would have reconciled the to a military domination, because they would have been triumphs on the one side for Protestantism, and on the other side for toleration. As Queen Christina said, Cromwell, had he lived, would have been the Gustavus Wasa of Great Britain; nay, he might have become the Gustavus Adolphus.

Sir J. R. Seeley is disposed to doubt whether such a result would have been in the long run a happy one for Cromwell's country. English history would have been rolled into another course. Monarchy would have been restored or a new and military basis, which would have given Englishmen glory and ascendancy, in stead of liberty and wealth. These results, good and evil, would have been fairly chargeable upon the great Protector. What actually happened was the outcome, not of Cromwell's policy alone, but partly of that policy and partly o the policy which was substituted for it, after the sudden and disastrous downfall of the proectorate. Cromwell acted on the presumption that England had a powerful standing army, in discipline and tone the best army in the world and also that England had a strong and determined Government, which was in one way or another to be held independent of Parliament He had been accustomed through life to leave much to Providence; but Providence, which had favored his personal enterprises, suddenly withdrew its support. The strong Governmen disappeared and the strong army vanished with it. The military State fell.

1V. We have said that to British policy, as it is onsidered in this book, three persons mainly contributed, Elizabeth, Cromwell, and William III. We have seen Elizabeth, not so much by action as by abstinence from action, maintaining herself with invincible patience and courage through a long reign, drawing England out of foreign entanglements and laying a deep foundation for a great insular and maritime State. We have seen Cromwell, with restless energy and enterprise, creating a State which, for the moment, was the most powerful in the world; a State which in several respects anticipated the British empire of more recent times. But the State created by Cromwell was, as we have seen, necessarily ephemeral, as resting on a basis strong, indeed, for the moment, but, as it were accidental, to wit: the army, which had been evolved only for the needs of a revolutionary time. It remains to examine a third stage in England's development, represented by a third great person. The vastness of the work performed in the world by William III. is seldom appreciated. It is seldom contemplated as whole, because it embraced many countries at once, while history has the habit of considering each country separately. The author of this book does not fail to mark the immense range of William's activity, but here we must concentrate attention on that division of it which relates especially to Britain. Even from this point of view his work falls into two parts. It is wellknown that he settled the English Constitution on a permanent basis. It is not only her Constitution, however, but her international policy, and her definite position among the States of the world, that England principally owes to him. In international history the great difference

between the seventeenth century and the eigh-

teenth is this, that whereas in the former,

France and the Spanish monarchy were standing enemies, in the latter, on the other hand, France and Spain were grouped together, so that discord between them; was quite exceptional, and their normal relation was a family alliance. This standing concert, inasmuch as Spain was a maritime and oceanic power, generated between France and England a chronic discord, so that whereas, in the seventeenth century, France and England had been for the most part friendly, in the eighteenth their frerecurring wars convulsed quently the world. These are the large causes, indepenof the personality of William III., which brought about the transition. But it was owing mainly to William that the transition was effected so successfully as to make England, under the new system, strong and triumphant, so that she was able, in the long duel of the eighteenth century, to hold her own against France. At the outset, it may well have seemed improbable that a country so torn with faction and so unprepared for war could resist the commanding unity and military efficiency of France. But England adapted herself. though slowly, to the new conditions. In the second war, though not in the first, she was able to defeat France in the field, and thenceforward, throughout the eighteenth century, she exhibited a solidity, a stability, and an uninterrupted prosperity which carried her through all the vicissitudes of a tremendous contest. A fixed state of things succeeded when once the storm of the revolution of 1688 had subsided. The period of growth in English policy seemed to be over. Such definite, solid, permanent results recall those achieved by Elizabeth, and it is indeed surprising that a foreigner who brought to England a mind preoccupied with Continental ideas, whose tastes, training, and knowledge qualified him for Dutch rather than English affairs, and who had little sympathy with English people, should leave a nark so indelible upon English history. If we look at the transition as a whole, which

was accomplished under William III., we dis-

cover in it a certain unity. We perceive that the national interest which has emerged from all the struggles of the seventeenth century has a distinct character, and that British policy, which now takes the place of English policy. has its own definite object. It is an object which might have been anticipated from the course of development, for, underneath all the fluctuations of the first and second revolutions, the State had been gradually assuming a peculiar type. Ever since the struggle of Elizabeth with Spain, it had been growing more maritime and more commercial. It had advanced in this course side by side with the United Provinces, and at the expense of the Spanish monarchy. Under Elizabeth, it established itself as a kind of p. ratical State on the oceans which then belonged to Spain. Under James I. it founded colonies in America. While the first revolution was proeceding, it became a leading maritime power. With the Navigation act it became an aggressive commercial rival of the other sea power, Holland. Now, in its second revolution, it arrived at a critical point in this development With William III, the peculiar relation of Great Britain to the United Provinces was settled for a long period, and, by the war of the Spanish succession, the fundamental maritime question, the right of Spain to monopolize the commerce of the New World, was thoroughly overhauled. Here, then, we touch the consummation of a development of which the commencement was marked under Elizabeth. What had begun about 1507, with the outbreak of the Dutch rebellion, was, in a sepse, completed by the treaty of Utrecht. For Englishmen, the outcome was that their State began to assume the character of a great trade empire. The international interests of the insular State, as soon as they began to be studied, could not but appear to be mainly commercial. The English had abandoned the dynastic policy of the peoples who were subject to the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons. They inhabited a group of islands tooking abroad over the At lantic, and they now saw a near prospect of uniting these islands under a common govern Their internal difficulties appeared almost at an end. It remained for them to em brace the globe with their trade, as Spain, in spite of her great opportunities, had conspien ously failed to do, and as the United Prov-

inces had shown them the way to do.

one hand, complete the union of the insular

to do it, they must, on the

remove the great hindrance that lay in the ancient monopoly of the New World, still claimed by Spain, a monopoly which, in whatever way the question of the Spanish succession might be settled, Spain did not mean in theory to abandon. It was thus evident at the time that England, on emerging from her second revolu tion, would have before her probably a war with Spain, and inevitably the task of effecting unions with Scotland and Ireland. Just this was, in point of fact, the work which William III. bequeathed to his successor, Anne. Besides this, it would be necessary to make English institutions more suitable for commercial purposes. This was what William himself was specially qualified by his Dutch training to do, and what, accordingly, he did, through the commercial policy which gave to Englishmen the Bank of England and the reform of their finances, including, conspicuously, the combination of the East India companies and the purification of the currency.

The unparalleled settlement accomplished, or

at least organized, by William III., which dealt

so successfully with questions so fundamental,

which, at the same time, settled the succession

of the Crown, waged war victoriously against

France and Spain, and established the State of

Great Britain by the union of England and Scot-

land, had created, as we have seen, a common wealth predominantly commercial. The British policy which, in spite of some Hanoverian excursions, had ceased to be dynastic, and had established itself upon the national interests, rec ognized those interests in trade. The eighteenth century was to show that in the notion of trade was involved the empire of the seas and a vast colonial dominion. But this was not, as yet, distinctly comprehended. During the early part of the eighteenth century, that is in the reign Anne, it was only visible that the Britannie State showed a military and diplomatic skill which was wholly new, and interfered in Continental affairs with more decision than had been its wont under either the Tudors or the When the period of war was over, the house of Brunswick speedily succeeded to an inular kingdom, possessing far more consolidation at home than it had ever known before. When, after a few years. France recovered under the guidance of Fleury from the serious blows she had received, and it seemed that the age of Louis XIV was to be followed as it had been preceded, by the age of a great Cardinal, the total result of the remarkable transition which England had undergone became measurable, and the Europe of the eighteenth century displayed its chief international features. Looking about him, Frederick the Great expressed the conviction that all the States of Europe were drawn in the train either of England or of France, and that the standing hostility between those two States ruled everything. This grand rivalry between Englishmen and Frenchmen reminded Freder ick of the Punic wars. The French, restored to their old influence by Fleury, struck him as the modern Romans. Great Britain, he admits cherishes no designs of Continental conquests she desires only to push her trade. She is, h sees, the modern Carthage; but to his mind it is a great evil that all the States of Europe alike are forced to take part in the grand rivalry which embraces the globe. Frederick was thus the very first to form the conception which in the first years of the nineteenth century possessed the mind of Napoleon, and led to a Punic war indeed, which had its Hannibal, and had also its battle of Zama. The international situ ation which led to this result was already visible before the middle of the eighteenth century, and had begun to exist earlier still. It is the consequence of that transition which is considered in these volumes and the outcome of which was the establishment of a commercial State, in cluding the whole Britannic world. The modern Carthage was founded when the revolution of 1688, followed by the Hanoverian succession, had established a secure Government with a national and no longer a dynastic policy: and when this had acquired Britain, instead of England, for its territorial basis, and was able also to draw in its train Ireland, not, indeed, united or satisfied, but pacified and withdrawn from the influences of reaction. When, as time nassed on this great Britannic State defeated in the field the combined powers of France and Spain, and began to be acknowledged as the eading maritime power, while, at the same time, with omnivorous energy, it devoted itself to trade, a State appeared which resembled the

of antiquity. M. W. H. What Is a University

ancient Carthage as much as the great States of

the modern world can resemble the small States

higher education will be glad to see the most learned and useful book upon the subject as yet | certain of obtaining immediate recognition and produced by an Englishman entitled The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, by HAST-INGS RASHDALL (Macmillans). It appears that the writer became involved in the researches of which the three volumes composing this work represent the outcome through winning the Chancellor's prize at Oxford for an English essay in 1883. The essay was composed in less than a year; the revision and expansion of it have occupied more than eleven years. Part of the labor imposed by the task was due to the rapidity with which materials and literature relating to the theme have of late poured from the press. When Mr. Rashdall began to study the mediseval universities no really critical book had appeared upon the subject as a whole or upon any arge section of it. Much time was, therefore, expended on the independent discovery of the n-existence of the University during the greater part of that period of its history which it took Du Boullif two bulky folios to chronicle. The publication of Father Deniste's great work, "Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters." in 1885 disclosed masses of fresh authorities, for which Mr. Rashdall acknowledges that he should probably have hunted in vain. Later on came the publication of new documents in the sucessive volumes of Denific and Chatclain's magnificent "Chartularia Universitatia Parisien sis," and the Bologna octo-centenary of 1888 produced a crop of new literature relating to that ancient seat of learning. Fournier's great collection of documents for the various French universities was published in 1890-1-2. Statute books, matriculation books, chartularia and histories of particular universities, have also appeared in rapid succession. There are now, indeed, few universities of which we have not at least the statutes in print, while, in very many cases, all the extant documents have been edited with a completeness which leaves nothing to be desired. Unfortunately, so much as this cannot be said with regard to the English universities, the tory of Oxford and Cambridge being still in

manuscript. The plan of this book is to describe with tolerable fulness the three great archetypal universities and to give, at the same time, short otices of the foundation, constitution, and history of the others, arranged in national groups. The first of the three volumes, itself comprising more than five hundred and fifty pages, is allotted to the three universities of salerno, Bologna, and Paris, but it also con tains a great deal of introductory and illustrative matter. In the second volume are discussed all the other universities of the Continent which had been founded before the beginning of the sixteenth century, and also the universities of Scotland. The third volume, in which American and English readers will be particularly interested, is devoted to Oxford and Cambridge In the present notice we shall glance only at the first volume, and, even in respect to this, we shall limit ourselves to marking the light cast by the author's researches on a question wrongly answered by most of those who have written on the subject, namely: "What is a university?" What was the original conception denoted by the term? and how were its secondary mean ings acquired?

In a chapter assigned to an examination of this question, Mr. Rashdall points out that the word Universities is one to which a false explanation is often given for polemical purposes by controversial writers, whereas the true ex-planation or it at once supplies us with a clue to the nature and historical origin of the instituclaim upon the succession. In the second place, | ered fair to charge upon him certain bad | kingdoms, and, on the other hand, they must | tion itself. The notion that a university means

edge are represented, has, indeed, long since disappeared from the pages of professed historians; but it is still persistently foisted upon the public by writers with whom history is rdinate to what may be called intellectual edification. However imposing and stimulating may be the conception of an institution for the teaching or for the cultivation of universal knowledge, and however imperative may seem the necessity of such an institution in modern times, it is one which will gain little support from the facts of history. The author of this book assures us that a glance into any collection of medieval documents reveals the fact that the word University means merely a number, plurality, or aggregate of persons, University tas vestra, in a letter addressed to a cody persons, means merely "the whole you"; in a more technical sense it denotes a legal corporation, or juristic person; in Roman law, although in strictness a wider term, it is, for most purposes, practionily the equivalent of collegium. At the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries the word was applied to corporations either of Masters or of students, but it long continued to be applied to other corporations as well, particularly to the then newly formed guilds and to the municipalities of towns; while, as applied to scholastic guilds, it was at first used interchangeably with such words as "com munity " or "college." In the earliest period ! was never used absolutely; it was always quallfied. The phrase would be "University of Scholars," "University of Masters and Scholars," or the like. It is a mere accident that the term has gradually come to be restricted to a particular kind of guild or corporation, just as the terms "convent," "corps," "congregation," "college," have been similarly restricted to certain specific kinds of association. Mr. Rashdall lays especial stress upon the fact that the term was generally, in the Middle Ages, used dis tinctly of the scholastic body, whether of teachers or scholars; not of the place which such a body was established, or even of its collective schools. The word to denote the academic institution in the abstract; the Schools or the town which neld them; was Studium rather than Universitae. To be a resident in a university would be pass one's time in a Studium," or " to contest in the Schools." The term which most nearly corresponds to the present vague and indefinite English notion of a university, as distinguished from a mere school, seminary, or private educational establishment, is not Universitas, but Studium Generale; and Studium Generale itself meant, in mediæval parlance, not a place where all subjects are studied, but simply a place where students from all parts were received. The term "general," in other words, referred not to the scope of studies, but to the range of territory whence scholars were drawn. As a natter of fact very few medieval Studia possessed all the Faculties. Even Paris, in the days of her highest renown, possessed no Faculty of Civil Law, while, throughout the thirteenth entury, graduation in theology was, in practice, the almost exclusive privilege of Paris and the English universities. It was for instruction in medicine alone that students repaired to Salermo, and there were at least two instances of a Studium Generale in Arts only, namely, Sara-

The term Studium Generale did not becom ommon until the beginning of the thirteenth century. At that time the term was a perfectly rague one, as fluid and indefinable as the English term Public School or the German Hochschule In the main, however, the term seems to have implied three characteristics: first, that th school attracted, or at least invited, students from all parts, and not merely those from a particular country or district; that it was a place of higher education, or, in order words, that

II.

gossa and Erfurt.

one at least of the higher Faculties, theology, law, medicine, was taught there; thirdly, that such subjects were taught by a considerable number of masters, or at least by more than one master. Of these ideas the first was the primary and fundamental one: A Studium Generale meant a school of general resort, but in its origin the term was a wholly popular and extra-legal one. The question whether a particular school was or was not a Studium Generale was one settled by custom or usage not by authority. There were, however, at the beginning of the thirteenth century three Studia to which the term was preëminently applied, and which enjoyed, each in its own field of learning, a unique and transcendent prestige; these were Paris for theology and art, Bologna for law, and Salermo for medicine. A All Americans interested in the history of the | Master who had taught and been admitted to the Magisterial Guild in one of those places was while, on the contrary, these three Studia themselves would not receive Masters from other schools without fresh examination. Thus, to the original conception of a Studium Generale, there was gradually added a vague notion of certain ecumenical validity of the Mastership which it conferred. At the same time, there was nothing to prevent any school which thought itself entitled to the designation from assuming it. In the thirteenth century, for instance, many schools besides Bologna and Paris

claimed the rank of Studium Generale; it was,

equal to that of Bologna or Paris. The exten-

don of this usage was facilitated by the fact

by Masters who were actually taught at one of these places.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century the unrestricted liberty of founding Studie ieneralia gradually ceased; and the cessation brought with it an important change in the meaning of the term. It so happened that, at about the same time, the two great "world powers" of Europe, the Empire and the Papacy, conceived the idea of creating a School which, by an exercise of authority, was to be placed on a level with the great European centres of edu-In 1224 the Emperor Frederick II. founded a Studium Generale at Naples: in 1229 Gregory IX. did the same at Toulouse, while in 1244-5 Innocent IV, established a Studium Gen in the Pontifical Court itself. These foundations appear to have suggested the idea that the erection of new Studia Generalia was one of the Papal and Imperial prerogntives, like the power of creating Notaries Public. Moreover, in order to give the graduates of Toulouse, in so far as parchment and wax could give them. mass of the material bearing on the early his- | the same prestige and recognition which were enjoyed by the graduates of Paris and Bologna, a bull was issued (in 1233) which declared that any one admitted to the Mastership in that university should be freely allowed to teach in all other Studia without any further examination. In the course of the century other cities, anxious to place their Schools on a level with these privileged universities, applied for and obtained from either Pope or Emperor bulls constituting them Studio Generalia. The earlier these bulls simply confer the position of Studium Generale, without further tion, or else they confer the privileges of some specified university, such as Paris or Hologna. The most prominent practical purpose of such bulls seems, at first, to have been to give beneficed ecclesiastics the right to study in them, while ontinuing to receive the fruits of their benefices, a privilege limited by canonical law or ustom to Studia reputed "General," Gradually, however, the special privilege of the right to teach everywhere the ablique be regarded as the principal object of Papal or Imperial creation. The privilege was usually, but not quite always, conferred in express terms by the original foundation bull, and was apparently understood to be involved in the mere act of erection, even in the rare cases where it was not expressly conceded. In 1202, even the old archetypal universities themselves. Hologna and Paris, were, as a matter of form, invested with the same privilege by bulls of Nicholas I Theuceforward, the notion gained ground that the right to teach overywhere i just thique docernit was of the essence of a Studium Generale, and that no School which did not, by custom, possess this privilege, could obtain it without a bull from

either the Emperor I the Pope. At the same

a Universitas Facultatum, that is to say a school time, there were some of the older Studia, such in which all the Faculties or branches of knowlas Oxford and Padua, which, without having been founded by Pope or Emperor, and without having subsequently procured a papal or im-perial recognition of their jus ubique docenti-Papua obtained a bull in 1346; Oxford never did-had obtained a position as Studia Generalia two secure to be successfully attacked. Hence, with their habitual respect for established facts, the fourteenth century jurists, to whom is chiefly due the formulation of the mediaval ideas about universities, declared that such schools as Padua and Oxford were Studia Generalia " by custom " (ex-consuctudine).

> IV. The view of the fourteenth-century Italian

jurists is regarded by Mr. Rashdail as, on the

whole, representing the dominant mediaval theory on the subject. At the same time attention is directed to the fact that the ideas of these jurists were less rapidly and less firmly established in countries which recognized the supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire at most only in some shadowy and honorary way, and where the national churches possessed most incount of Bologna. dependence. For instance the Chanish kings are found erecting Studia Generalia without consulting pope or emperor. They do not, in-deed, claim to confer a just ubique docendi, which would be an absurd pretension on the part of s merely local sovereign. The jurists conceded to such universities all that they could possibly claim when they held them to be Studia Generalia with respect to a particular kingdom (respecut regni). If there are examples of attempts on the part of a city republic to erect a Studium Generale without papal or imperial permission and if, in one or two cases, there are even extant diplomas granted by such bodies purporting t confer the privilege of teaching everywhere dicentia ubique docendi), these are promerely the exceptions which prove the rule A claim on the part of officials or corporations chartered by a mere local authority to confer rights of teaching in universities which lay be yond their jurisdiction was too extravagant to have been seriously made, much less to have obtained general recognition. It is, nevertheless, admitted that the fluctuations of meaning which the term Studium Generale underwent in the course of the middle ages make it no easy task to adjudicate in all cases upon the claims of particular schools to that title. In the thirteenth century Mr. Rashdail considers himself obliged to include in the category of "universities" all bodies which he finds expressly styled Studia Generalia by mediaval writers, although he has no doubt that there were many schools especially in parts of Europe where the term was less current, which had, in point of fact quite as good claims to "generality," in the sense in which the word was then understood as had some of those to which the term was actually applied. From the beginning the fourteenth century, however, Mr. Rashdall accepts the juristic definition, and excludes from the category of universities all newly constituted bodies which not founded by pope or emperor. ingdom (respectu reynt) are, however, included degree of Licentiate.

Studia Generalia, with respect to a particula but these, in nearly every case, sooner or later strengthened their position by a Papal bull. wrong impression of the whole matter would be nevertheless obtained if it were supposed that, even when the jus ubique docends was most indisputably assured by Papal or Imperial au thority, it actually received the respect which juristic theories claimed for it. The great rimeval universities almost never recognized the doctorates conferred by the minor bodies At Paris, even Oxford degrees falled to command incorporation without fresh examination and license, and Oxford repaid the compliment by refusing admission to Parisian doctors, the Papal bull notwithstanding. Unsuccessful attempts were made by Oxford in 1296 and 1317 o procure for her doctors and masters the jus ubique docendi by Papal bull, but as the attempts were not renewed at a later date the presumption is that Oxford was satisfied with her position as a Studium Generale by custom The fact is noteworthy, however, that Oxford never actually conferred the licentia ubique do cendi, nor, of course, did she confer degrees by apostolic authority." At Bologna, the personal intervention of Charles II. of Naples was needed to obtain recognition for a master who had graduated at the Naples University, and even then, he seems to have gone through the ceremony of promotion to the mastership anew Even in less illustrious universities, the statutes provided for some preliminary tests before the reception of a graduate from another university. Such tests can hardly be distinguished from the "examination" which the Papal bulls forbade. since, in them, it was always implied that the university reserved the right of refusing permission to lecture, and to exercise other magisterial rights within its precincts to any graduate as to whose competence it was not satisfied. It is added that, in proportion as the real privileges of the mastership became restricted as was eventually more or less the case in majority of the universities) to a limited body of salaried Doctors, the ecumenical rights conferred by graduation in a Studium Generale came to possess a purely honorary value. The master ship was ultimately reduced to a universally recognized honor; it is now nothing more.

It remains to point out the relation of the term in fact, at least in Italy, where the term was dium Generale to the term "Universitas." most in use, assumed by any school which Mr. Rashdall has shown that there was origwanted to intimate that it gave an education inally no necessary connection between the institution denoted by the term Universitas and that denoted by the term Studium Generale. Sothat most of these early schools were founded ciettes of masters or clubs of students were formed before the term Studium Generale came into habitual use; and, in a few instances, such ocieties are known to have existed in schools which never became Studia Generalia. Originally the university was simply a scholastic guild, whether of masters or students. Such guilds sprang into existence like other guilds, without any express authorization of king, pope, prince, or prelate. They were spontaneous prodnets of the instinct of association which swept ike a great wave over the towns of Europe is the course of the eleventh and twelfth century. Especially in two places, however, Bologna and Paris, the scholastic guilds attained a development and an importance which they acquired nowhere else. It is, moreover, to be noted that nearly all the secondary Studia Generalia which arose spontaneously without papal or imperial charter were established by secessions masters or students from Paris or Bologna. The secodors carried with them the customs and institutions of their alma mater. Even in the few cases where the germs of the University or College of Doctors may have originated independently of the influence of Paris and Bologna, their subsequent development was due to more or less direct and conscious imitation of the scholastic guilds of these two great schools. Thus it came about that a Universitas, whether of masters or of students, became, in practice, the inseparable accompaniment of the Studium ienerale; a Universitas, too, of a particular and definite type, formed more or less on the model of one of the two great archety pal universities. So it came to pass that, in the later middle ages, the term Studium Generals came practically to denote not merely a school whose graduates had the jus ubique decendi sthough this remained its legal and technical differ-ential, but a schola-tic organization of a particniar type, and endowed with more or less uniorm privileges. By the fifteenth century the original distinction between the two terms was pretty generally lost, and Universitas gradually became a more synonyme for Studium Generale, ensequently, throughout this book, the term university is used for purposes of convenience n its most comprehensive sense, except where

in its most comprehensive sease, except where it is needful expressly to distinguish the Stadium from the Universities proper.

Yaris and Bologua are pronounced the two archetysal institutions; Paris applied the model for the universities of Masters, Bologua for the universities of Students. Every university from that day to this is, in its developed form, a more or less close imitation of one or the other of these two types, though in some few cases, as in those of Oxford, Augers, and Orieans, the basis of the organization may have been independent. In the case of the carlier universities the imitation was, with whatever adaptation to local circumstances, conscious and deliberate; while the most purely utilita-

rian of new oniversities retains, more or less unconsciously, constitutional features or usage which are only explicable by the customs either of the Bologna Students or of the Parisian Mas ters at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is clear, there fore, that a somewhat minute study of these two typical bodies is essential to a proper understanding of the University as an institution and to this study the first of Mr. Rashdall's volumes is principally devoted. There was however, one great Studium Generale older, in sense, than either Paris or Bologna, which stands absolutely by itself. Its original constitution, of which, indeed, not much is known appears to have had little resemblance to that of any other; and it never enjoyed the repro ductive power which is so remarkable a characteristic of Bologna and Paris. The Medica School of Salerno did not, so far as is known, infinence the constitution even of the medical universities or of the medical faculties. Such treatment as it is possible to give the unique Salerno institution precedes the author's ac

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Before closing the preliminary survey of his subject, Mr. Rashdali points out that the three titles, master, doctor, and professor, were in the middle ages absolutely synonymous. At Parls and its derivative universities magister was the prevailing title in the faculties of Theology. Medicine, and Arts; the title professor was, however, pretty frequently, that of doctor, nore rarely employed. The teachers of law at Bologna, on the other hand, especially affected he title doctor; they were likewise called professors and Domini, but not, as a rule, Magistri. The same usage with reference to law was transferred to Paris. In the Acts of the Faculty of Canon Law the term doctor was habitually used. Thus, when letters are addressed "Rectori, Magistris, Doctoribus et Scolaribus Universitatis Parisiensis," the order of the terms makes if plain that the theological teachers are included in the Magistri, while the teachers of canon law are specially designated by the Doctores. The same distinction was observed at Oxford; but, in the fifteenth century, at least in the English universities, the practice gradually arose of appropriating the title doctor to all the superior faculties, and reserving that of magister for the inferior faculties of Arts and Grammar. In Italy the term doctor soon spread from the faculty of law to all the other faculties. The same was eventually the case in Germany, where the Master of Arts is still styled Doctor of Philosophy. The purely accidental character of the distinction is strikingly illustrated by the fact that in the English universities the Doctor of Music, who, in spite of the gorgeous gown he wears, is not a member of Convocation, and only ranks above the modest Bachelor of Arts, enjoys the imposing prefix of Doctor, while his superior, the teacher of Arts, is confined to the humbler style of Master. German diplomas often confer the style "Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Arts." Mr. Rashdall deems to much to be regretted that not only the University of London, but the ancient University of Cambridge, should have committed the historical solecism of conferring a Doctorate and a Mastership in the same Faculty, the more so because medieval precedent, still followed in France, would have supplied the intermediate

The Extreme South of America.

The truth about Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego has been revealed only within the past few years. It is somewhat strange that discoveries in America of geographic importance and considerable advantage to the world should not until to-day have been recorded in a compendious volume for the use of readers of English. We believe, however, that The Gold Diggings of Cape Horn (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York), by Mr. John R. Spears, is the first book in English from which one may obtain a fairly comprehensive idea of what is now known about he hitherto greatly slandered southern portion of America. The fact is that the geographic movement in

Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego within the past fifteen years has been second in interest only to that in the great African field, and it has, by no means, escaped deserved attention. Long and very valuable accounts of it have appeared in Spanish, French, and German. One of the most sumptuous and exhaustive geographic works of recent years is the report, in several volumes, of the researches of the French Scientific Commission in the southern part of Tierra del Fuego. The Argentine Government and the Geographical Institute at Buenos Ayres have published voluminous reports of the work of their explorers in Patagonia and "The Fire Land," where discoveries were made that almost completely changed our ideas of the country and of the Indian tribes who live there. These revelations of vast grassy plains where bleak and almost uninhabitable wastes were supposed to be, of large lakes, the feeders of important rivers, where aridity had been thought to reign, of agricultural, grazing, and mining prospects in regions that were not supposed to be worth a cent to the square mile, are among the chief prizes of recent geographic research anywhere. The Germans have taken part in this exploration, particularly in Patagonia, and some of the best cartographic and descriptive results are theirs. The western or Chilian part of Tierra del Fuego has not been neglected, and, according to Mining Engineer Julius Scheltze, it is a region of

large mineral wealth. Mr. Spears's book is made up of the material which he collected for THE SUN during a visit to the coasts of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, which was published in our columns in series of striking articles. His visit to those regions in 1894 was later than the period of explorations we have referred to, and his book may justly be regarded as the freshest, and, on the whole, the completest summary, in one volume, of the general aspects of the southern part of America, its resources, its progress, and prospects, and the character and condition of

ts inhabitants, white and native. The book will be particularly welcome to all our countrymen who wish to have a good, general idea of the facts about the Cape Horn region and of the work that is doing there, because it is actually the first book in English that gives us any idea of that country in the light of recent researches. Many books of travel are worth reading because they are bright and entertaining, but Mr. Spears's book is much more than this. It is the work of a keen observer of men and things, whose narrative is not only entertaining, but shows scrupulous care to present facts as they are. This quality has been conspicuous in all of Mr. Spears's writings on the various little known regions he has visited. and It is this that gives them permanent value for

reference purposes. It would have been a mistake to produce his seek on the Cape Horn region without the copious index that makes all its information easily available. Among the topics treated are the gold diggings, the aborigines, the missions, colonizing experiments, sheep farming, the Gaucho, bearts and birds, and the various settlements. Every writer on geographic topics and every reference library needs this book,

> She Trapped a Tramp. From the Morning Oregonium.

Last evening a tramp rang the door hell at house on Ninth street, and, when the lady of the house came to the door, he wanted somehing to eat. She told him she had nothing for him, and attempted to shut the door, when

he put his foot against it to greyout her, and insisted on entering the house. This seared